



WINNER IN NEW YORK NATIONAL WAR FUND'S BABY CONTEST

21-month-old Jane Markowski of Brooklyn, New York, who represented Poland at the New York National War Fund baby contest held on October 26, 1945 at the Lenox Hill Neighborhood House, was judged the winner from among ten finalists representing Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Poland, Norway, and the Philippines. Jane, in the baby costume of the land of her Polish forebears, captivated the judges—Victor Moore, Boris Karloff and Roland Young—who declared her "a fine little actress."

Each of the ten finalists had been chosen by a member agency of The New York National War Fund. Jane was the candidate of Polish War Relief and three hundred tons of clothing will be sent to one of the afflicted countries in her name.

*Photo by
Adrien Boutrelle, New York*

CAN RUSSIA BE HER OWN JUDGE?

by T. WALTER

IT has hitherto been a fundamental principle of morality that a man cannot be his own judge. In criminology this still remains indisputable logic.

However, the aftermath of allied victory shows that the conception of morality has undergone serious changes. In fact, a good many jurists find themselves revising their entire knowledge of the principles of morality and law to make sure that they are not mistaken in their assumption as to what had heretofore been regarded as an extremely important principle of justice.

It is because of the Indictment of Major War Criminals recently filed with the International Military Tribunal that this problem has been brought up.

During the five years of World War II, a number of official statements urged the necessity of punishing all individuals responsible for war crimes.

On August 8, 1945, the four major allies, the United States, Great Britain, Russia and France, announced their agreement on a plan for the trial of major war criminals in Europe. This plan consisted of an agreement between the Big Four and a charter of the International Military Tribunal.

In its preamble, the agreement read as follows: "*The United Nations have from time to time made declarations of their intention that war criminals shall be brought to justice.*" This then should be regarded as a principle from which there are no exceptions.

Art. 6 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal distinguishes three kinds of crimes committed, i.e.: (a) crimes against peace, (b) war crimes and (c) crimes against humanity.

Upon signing the agreement and charter, Robert H. Jackson, Supreme Court Justice acting for the United States, issued a statement from which we quote:

"For the first time, four of the most powerful nations have agreed not only upon the principle of liability for war crimes and crimes of persecution, but also upon the principle of individual responsibility for the crime of attacking international peace" . . . "The definitions under which we will try the Germans are general definitions. They impose liability upon war-making statesmen of all countries alike."

These are the basic principles upon which the Indictment was formulated by representatives of the Big Four.

Count One, item 3, entitled "Statement of the Offense" reads as follows:

"All the defendants, with diverse other persons, during a period of years preceding May 8, 1945, participated as leaders, organizers, instigators or accomplices in the formulation or execution of a common plan or conspiracy to commit, or which involved the commission of crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity, as defined in the Charter of this Tribunal, and, in accordance with the provisions of the charter, are individually responsible for their own acts and for all acts committed by any persons in the execution of such plans or conspiracy. The common plan or conspiracy embraced the commission of crimes against peace, in that the defendants planned, prepared, initiated and waged wars of aggression, which were also wars in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances . . ."

Further, in Appendix A—Statement of individual responsibility for crimes set forth in Counts 1, 2, 3 and 4, as to the responsibility of the defendant, Joachim Ribbentrop, it is stated:

"He participated in the political planning and preparation of the Nazi conspirators for wars in violation of international treaties, agreements and assurances as set forth in Counts 1 and 2 of the indictment; in accordance with the Fuehrer principle he executed and assumed responsibility for the execution of the foreign policy plans of the Nazi conspirators set forth in Count 1 of the indictment . . ."

The above is quoted in order to make clear a further dis-

cussion of the indictment. However, it is also important that we recall a few events which occurred before the outbreak and during the early stages of the war.

First, there was the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed August 23, 1939. This was at the peak of the war of nerves which had started in the early Spring of that year. The Franco-British military mission had endeavored in vain to win Russia over to the side of the allies in the belief that this would prevent the outbreak of war. It finally had to leave Moscow without having made any progress. It was then that the pact was announced which gave Germany a free hand with regard to all states geographically located between Russia and Germany.

Next, Russia, in violation of a Polish-Soviet non-aggression pact as well as of other international treaties, sent her military forces into Poland, occupying a great part of the country, despite protests and opposition, on September 17, 1939. There can be no doubt, therefore, about the existence of a secret agreement between Russia and Germany, concluded at the very time when the pact of non-aggression had been signed, and there can be no doubt that the cession of Polish territory had been the price for Soviet neutrality.

Another important event was the agreement signed in Moscow on September 28, 1939, between the governments of Germany and Soviet Russia, known as the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement, and pertaining to the partition of Poland.

And then, early in 1940, the occupation of the Baltic countries took place, all these territories being incorporated into the Soviet Union.

It is clear that all this was accomplished through close cooperation between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Poland was announced as non-existent, and a new order was established. Frontiers were redrawn and people deported from one territory to another. At the time both Germany and Russia gave their friendship and cooperation wide publicity.

The Indictment in Count 1, headed "Formation of the plan to attack Poland: Preparation and initiation of aggressive

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WHERE ARE THE REST OF THE GUILTY ONES?

The following letter of indictment was written by a Polish woman who had been a prisoner in the Oswiecim and Belsen concentration camps from November 1942 to April 1945 and who is at present a witness for the prosecution in the Belsen trial at Lüneburg, Germany. For obvious reasons the author's name cannot be revealed at the present time.

THE trial in Lüneburg has no precedent in world history. Seated on the bench of the accused with the group of assassins who tortured the defenseless inmates of the concentration camps in Oswiecim and Belsen-Bergen, are also former prisoners, victims of demoralizing German methods.

I repeat that only one group of assassins is on trial. Where are the rest? We waited five months in the belief that such a long period of time would permit all or at least most of them to be rounded up. We thought these hangmen would be caught and brought to justice. For, after all, those who are on trial today should indicate their companions-in-crime: They know their names, they know all the essential details which can lead to the trail of the criminals. The accused in Lüneburg are but a fragment of the hell we prisoners knew.

And so, where are Kramer's closest collaborators? Where are his predecessors Annemeyer, Fricz, *Arbeitsdienstfuhrer* Blaufuss, Moll, Stiebietz, Perschil, the notorious Gorilla-Iris, the previous *Lagerfuhrer* Taube, the head of the *Sonderkommando* Mokrus? Where are the female guards? Where is the notorious *Lagerfuhrerin* Kostucha-Drexler; where are such monsters as Hasse, Mandel, Rupert, Brandel, Sachert, and others?

After all, it was they who accompanied by vicious dogs, convoyed and supervised the camp labor battalions. It was they who set crazed wolves upon weak and old women, who unable to keep up with the others, were torn apart on the road. Instead of a prayer for the dying, they heard the wild

*This letter was published in the original Polish in "The Polish Daily & Soldier's Daily" in London on October 27, 1945.

joyous laughter of the female guards. The horror-stricken eyes of the other prisoners betrayed only one thought: "Who would be next? Whose corpse would we drag along for the next twenty kilometers, barely able to keep on our feet ourselves?" For neither the dead nor the living could be missing at roll call.

The female guards and SS men used to lead us naked through the camp to be deloused. With a fever of 104, ill with typhus or scarlet fever, amid a rain of blows or kicks in our abdomen, we would drag ourselves up or fall lifeless on the spot.

And what about the humanitarian doctors, butchers Heine, Mengele, Tillo, who administered lethal injections five minutes following which the patient ceased to suffer forever. Let me mention from among my closest entourage Jadwiga Trebinska and Maria Mioduszewska who died in this way in December, 1942. And then there was Dr. Koenig, who in addition to other crimes, has this fine exploit to his credit:

In June 1944, in block N. O. 6 in Oswiecim, he kicked and beat up the convalescing Nella Szymanska just because she had stepped out to get a breath of fresh air.

But this is not the end of the list! Why is the long list of prisoners, the scum of humanity who held supervisory posts in these camps, missing from among the accused? Why are these people, who were bullies towards the weak but submissive toward the strong, absent? They could offer the most horrible proof of the greatest of German crimes—depravation. Exploiting weakness of character, thrusting the whip that was to be used against their fellow-sufferers into their hands, practicing sexual perversion, demoralization, establishing brothels or *puffs*—these are methods calculated to kill the soul in a human being, and destroy morality and ethics.

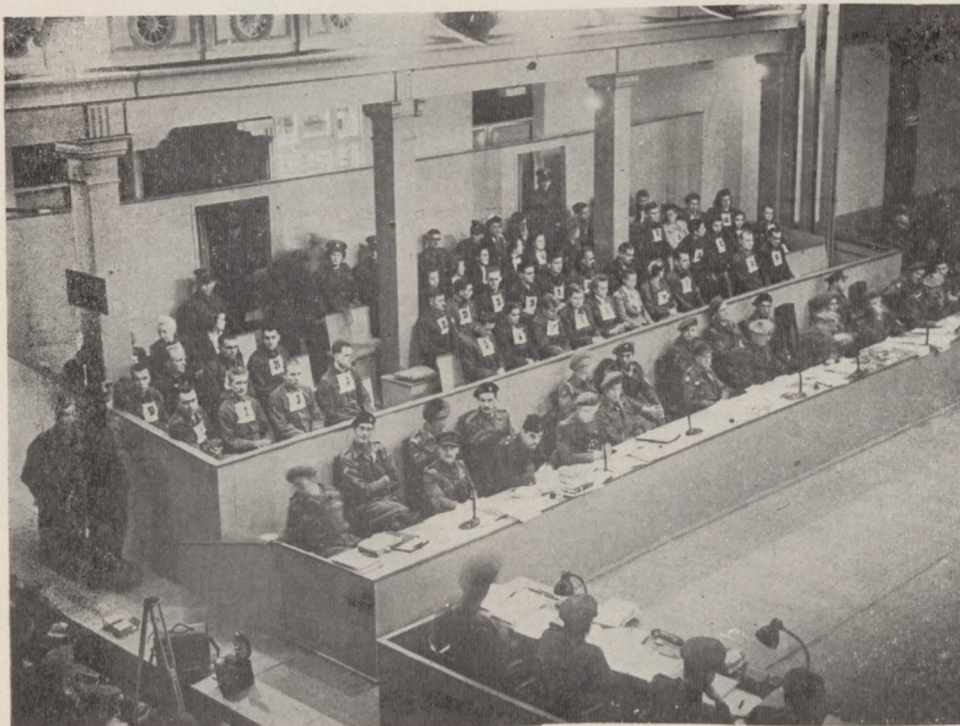
I shall mention here but a few of those who, to get better quarters, better clothing and food, stooped so low as to become passive cruel tools of their mighty protectors.

For example, *Raportschreiberin* Katia, the beautiful Slovak mistress of the monster Palicz, and assistant of the chief of selection for lethal gas, Taube. There was a time when Katia wielded almost unlimited power. She might have brought help, but she brought fear and horror. Her good or bad humor decided about life and death.

There was another Slovak, Ena, a medical student, mistress of Dr. Rode, who held the high post of camp physician, a post in which she might have aided thousands of her Jewish compatriots. She participated actively in making selections for the "chimney." It was through her that one of those closest to me, Halina Latwis, perished. If these two Slovak women ever helped anyone, it was only Slovak Jewesses, for Jewish nationals of other countries found no favor in their eyes.

And still another Slovak, camp spokesman Zuzi, and the overseer Ella, and the German Paula, Kaeti, and the popular *Puff-mama* Muskeler, and the German-Czech Schmidt, a former secretary of Dr. Benes, and overseer Elsa, and her sister Toni, and midwife Klara, Klara was a specialist in killing infants. Among many others she murdered the infant daughter of Maria Urbanska, known to me personally.

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Among the 48 accused of Belsen atrocities at the Lüneburg trial are Josef Kramer ("The Beast") identified by No. 1 and Irma Greese identified by No. 9.

POLES FOUND COWED BY FEAR

60,000 to 80,000 Prisoners Reported Held—Oswiecim Camp Reopened—Secret Police Watch Homes—Newsmen Note Hostility—Poles for Freedom From Soviet Army—

by GLADWIN

WARSAW, Poland, Oct. 12 (Delayed; via Berlin)—This is written in Warsaw, but it will not be committed to print until this correspondent is safely out of Poland.

Foreign correspondents at present are being allowed to circulate in Poland under the Potsdam Agreement and none so far has been harmed but a definite hostility toward foreign reporting of unquestionable facts already has been displayed.

There also exists throughout the war-torn country today a condition approaching a subtle reign of terror in which there is no assurance of what may happen to critics of the present regime.

The official line advanced by some Government officers is that there are no more than 1,000 political prisoners in Poland today.

The belief is widespread in Warsaw that there are 10,000 at Cracow alone and some responsible observers think the total may be nearer 100,000.

The former German concentration camp at Oswiecim, whose name to any Pole is synonymous with horror, is operating again under Polish auspices and its wire fences have been charged with electricity.

The round-up of persons whose only evident offense was suspected opposition to the current Communist-dominated regime was in any case extensive enough to have netted in recent days a number of individuals with claims on American citizenship, most of whom are still locked up under no specific charges and without trial.

One institution in Warsaw and other cities these days is "The Well," a Gestapo-like operation in which the police keep a guard for days on end if necessary at a block, a building or part of a building, seizing indiscriminately anyone who visits the place.

I will give other examples of incidents that have contributed to what I have been forced to describe as a near reign of terror in a country whose regime takes pride in being "democratic."

On Sept. 16 the Polish Peasants party, principal opposition threat to the present regime, held a rally at Cracow. One of its most prominent regional leaders was a man named Rjeszow Kojder. The day after the rally I was informed authoritatively that four uniformed men had appeared at M. Kojder's home and had taken him away.

*Excerpts from Gladwin Hill's dispatches from Poland, published in *The New York Times* on October 22 and October 23, 1945. Reprinted by permission.

Three days later he was found shot to death.

On the recent anniversary of the Warsaw uprising the Polish radio had prepared a broadcast script that was full of digs at the former Warsaw resistance movement so unpopular in Moscow. The announcer protested and a woman program director, a former underground campaigner, said that she could not, in all conscience, ask him to read it. A program of phonograph records was substituted.

A few days later the woman was called to account for the substitution and then discharged—on the accusation that there had been a discrepancy of \$10 in her accounts.

A responsible official told me that an employe of the Polish Foreign Office had been discharged simply because he had lunched too often with foreigners.

One of the generals in the Warsaw uprising who died a few days ago was buried as a plain civilian without due military honors because his relatives feared reprisals.

Any of these incidents may be verbally justified by the Government and some may actually be justified. Nevertheless the fact is that they and thousands of incidents like them that do not occur under an American-idea democracy have engendered a reign of

fear—a situation in which the people dare sing the songs of the old Warsaw underground only behind closed doors; in which the *Deutsche Blick*—glance over a shoulder before one says anything—is becoming a universal habit; in which the press uniformly abstains from criticism of the Government and opposition is found only in the illegal underground press, and in which in city after city across Poland I encountered ordinary people afraid to say to what political party they belonged.

There are two principal organizations of a police character in Poland. There is the Army nucleus composed of the Polish forces that fought with the Russians and admittedly largely directed by Russian officers. Then there is the militia, the national police, nominally a civilian organization, but uniformed almost indistinguishably from the army. This admittedly also has been subject to strong Russian influence.

Behind the façades of these two organizations are numerous subsections, some of them secret.

What is the purpose of this reign of fear? There are two obvious possible answers. One is that the police measures were taken to preserve order. If this be the aim the measures are failing notably.



Photo by Henry L. Griffin, Associated Press Staff Photographer
Outdoor Advertising in war-shattered Warsaw: "Buying—Selling of Real Estate. St. Kosowski, 5 Wspolna Street, Apt. 22."

INTO SUBMISSION TO REGIME*

Some Ask When Americans Will Liberate Them—Russians Seize Food and Goods—Country Held Occupied—Moscow-Created Government Is Not Helped by One-Sided Economic Agreement

HILL

In Polish cities, with shooting a nightly occurrence, even Government officials are timid about traveling across the country by night.

The conditions are openly admitted in the newly announced installation of units headed by Russian generals, in each of the country's dozen regional divisions for the stated purpose of stopping "marauding."

The other obvious answer is that the present "provisional" regime is going to these extremes to suppress opposition and perpetuate itself. The official attitude is that sweeping measures were necessary against the "reactionary" and "Fascist" elements at large in Poland who jeopardized national unity—an argument curiously as old as authoritarianism itself.

Many foreign observers in Poland feel that this is regrettable because, aside from the current regime's strong Red tinge and aside from its obvious political maneuverings to perpetuate itself, which is perhaps expectable on the part of any regime, it is making a manful effort to pull Poland out of her almost unprecedented economic desolation.

One prime factor in this effort is getting back to Poland the 2,000,000 Poles abroad; displaced persons, military and naval forces and refugees, whose numbers include experts and leaders in many fields important to the reconstruction of the country. Repercussions from this reign of fear, which inevitably reach abroad, cannot but hamper this return.

It is no secret situation and it is of prime concern to official American and British observers in Poland, who feel that under the Potsdam Agreement they bear the stewardship before the United Nations for what goes on in Poland, notably eventual free democratic elections and the proper preliminary conditions.

It is no secret, either, that some of these observers are apprehensive lest the present situation be clouded by the current tendency to ignore things that might annoy the Soviet Union.

It is also unquestionable that along with the current situation in Poland there is a concerted effort to hamper the dissemination of details to the outside world.

* * *

WARSAW, Poland, Oct. 13 (Delayed; via Berlin)—One of the most frequent questions that a correspondent traveling in Poland is asked is, "When is the American Army coming to liberate us from the Russians?" As incredible and preposterous as



Photo by Henry L. Griffin, Associated Press Staff Photographer
Polish boys and girls laying a wreath in the ruins of the Tomb of the Polish Unknown Soldier in Warsaw.

this may seem, it is a widespread notion, heard most often from educated and intelligent Poles.

The government ascribes such talk—as it ascribes virtually everything that does not please it—to "reactionaries." However, the explanation is not so simple as this. The writer has heard the talk from persons who definitely were not reactionaries, although they, of course, were indulging in wishful thinking. The fact is that the people of Poland today have ample reason for disliking the Russians.

The ancient animosity was intensified in 1939 when the Russians helped the Germans partition Poland for the fourth time in 250 years. This was not completely effaced by the Russians' subsequent arrival in the role of liberators, especially when their liberating extended to a lot of Polish property with a zeal hardly distinguishable from the Germans'.

Russian authorities have, in fact, admitted that the Red Army, when it got to Poland, regarded it as enemy territory and drew little distinction between it and Germany.

The Russians have been herding farm animals by the thousands eastward across Po-

land. A lot of them were going right past the American Embassy in Warsaw until one day the route was abruptly changed.

The official line again is that these are German cattle rather than Polish, although some experts who purport to be able to distinguish national differences in livestock disagree. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Russian "supply" troops by the thousands are settled down on the Polish countryside (the official figure is more than half a million Polish acres now being farmed by the Red Army) herding cattle and using all other agricultural resources just like the Poles.

The Russians stripped the Polish ports of Danzig and Gdynia of most of their cranes and other maritime equipment and have taken at least three of the harbors' four important floating drydocks.

This correspondent has visited Polish hospitals that have been stripped of their linen and other essential supplies by the Russians. The Russian-Polish trade agreement, for six months from last July to January, while nominally calling for an equal exchange of goods on the basis of "world prices," seems curiously one-sided in some respects.

(Continued on page 6)

The New York Times on THE NEW POLAND*

After a war of such length and brutality as the Germans waged, especially in eastern Europe, it was to be expected that there would be danger of civil strife and chaos, and that it might take drastic measures to keep matters under control. Such measures have, indeed, been taken, and some of the worst perils have been avoided. But the increasing reports of what is actually happening in eastern Europe paint such gloomy and at times shocking pictures that they emphasize anew the deep wounds which the war has left.

A case in point is furnished by the reports of our correspondent Gladwin Hill about the new Poland. Crushed under the conqueror's heel for five and a half years, partitioned, pushed eastward by the Germans and westward by the Russians, with millions of its sons either deported or in flight, the Polish nation never ceased fighting. Now it is making an uphill fight for national reconstruction. Because of its suffering, no nation deserves more sympathy and help. Yet the present-day picture of Poland is not a pretty one. A small minority, imposed on the country from outside, holds the Government captive and the people cowed in fear. Manhunts and mass arrests are matched by the retaliatory excesses of the remaining underground, which, after having fought for Poland's freedom, now does not dare show itself. To all this is added the immense

destruction of the war, which is further intensified by the presence of Russian armies living on the country, armies whose discipline is beginning to give way in some cases.

If the present Government was supposed to aid Poland's reconstruction it seems to have imposed on itself a handicap which only a complete mobilization of all Polish energies through the liberation of the individual can cure. This cure can be accomplished only by the creation of a genuinely representative Government, which, in turn, can be done only by holding the same kind of national elections which other liberated countries have made or are making possible, and to which this Polish Government is pledged by the Yalta and the Potsdam declarations.

As for the Russian armies, it is evident that as long as Russians occupy Germany there must be Russian soldiers in Poland to guard communication lines. For the rest, however, the Joint Four Nation Declaration of the Moscow Conference pledges the signatories, after the termination of hostilities, not to employ their military forces within the territories of other states except for the defeat of the enemy and the enforcement of the surrender terms. Since hostilities are over and there are no surrender terms to be enforced in Poland, the withdrawal of large Russian armies has become a feasible step, which, if taken, would give Poland a larger measure of true independence.

* Editorial, October 25, 1945. Reprinted by permission.

POLES FOUND COWED BY FEAR INTO SUBMISSION TO REGIME

(Continued from page 5)

Under it Russia gives Poland 25,000 tons of raw cotton while Poland is to provide Russia with 45,000,000 metres of cotton cloth—although Poland is desperately short of textiles. Under it Poland gives Russia 5,000,000 tons of coal and coke. Silesian coal operators, 75 per cent of whose production is going to the Russians (although thousands of Poles are going to freeze this winter for lack of fuel) say the Russians are paying a dollar a ton for coal, although it costs more than that to mine and the Russians are selling a lot of the same coal in southeastern Europe for ten times that price.

In numerous conversations with Poles to discover the exact sources of their resentment toward the Russians the writer found that it was mostly the simple fact of the Russians' presence in Poland, not just physically but mentally, and the influence they evidently are trying to exert—the "new occupation" of Poland, which some Poles even compare unfavorably with the German occupation.

The Poles dislike this influence which manifests itself in scores of ways. They resent the setting up in their provinces of Russian military organizations under Russian generals "to preserve order." They resent Russians staffing their army and synthesizing a new Polish Navy while the real

Polish Navy remains abroad. They resent a propaganda with the stamp of Moscow being sponsored to them by their Moscow-created Provisional Government. They say:

"We will work our way out of our misery and distress. We want help. But we want to run the job ourselves."

The Russian activities in Poland to date are susceptible of two conspicuous interpretations. One is that the Russians want to run Poland and reduce it to a satellite. But this they disavowed at Potsdam, when, while getting a mortgage on Polish economy by assuming responsibility for Poland's share in reparations, they helped to underwrite renewed Polish independence with free democratic elections.

The other interpretation is that Russian activities in Poland are an aftermath of the war with its inevitable disruptions and inequities and that the Russians have since intentions of establishing an equitable relationship with a free Poland.

If this be true, the Russians at present are jeopardizing their own cause because the resentment of the Polish people—whether it be called "reactionary" or what—appears to be reaching a point where it is even rebounding to the disadvantage of the present Polish Provisional Government the Russians' chosen representatives in Poland.

Poland is in the throes of an intense po-

litical struggle. It is a struggle led by Moscow-trained Communists to get permanent political control of a country that is historically conservative.

These Communists are a small minority, but at present have a strong advantage in that they dominate the Moscow-created Polish Provisional Government. This government, while nominally representative, is actually ruling by decree. This gives the Communists a wide scope, although not unlimited.

They cannot flout Polish opinion too baldly or there might be a popular outburst. They know, furthermore, that their time is limited, that the Potsdam agreement calls for free elections in which their present governmental inside track may be obliterated.

Their strategy is to use the intervening time to spread voluntary acceptance of their ideas and to build up from virtually nothing an effective political machine.

Invisible to Mr. Bierut and his Communist aide, Jacob Berman, who holds the obscure post of cabinet Under Secretary, but is recognized as one of the most powerful men in Poland.

To assure complete weighting of the government scales to the left the Communists arbitrarily impose the principle of "united action."

A New Interpretation of the Partition of Poland*

by OSCAR HALECKI

"THERE is a division in Poland in the matter of her very acceptance of the idea of national liberation. This is the greatest tragedy of all. It is a partition of Poland by the Poles, and comes from within Poland itself."

If such an amazing statement—the greatest possible misinterpretation of the Polish situation—had appeared somewhere in an unimportant newspaper article, it could easily be dismissed together with the whole accompanying discussion which makes the "duality" of all Polish institutions a cause instead of a consequence of the deterioration of Russo-Polish relations, and pretends, for instance, that the so-called Lublin Committee, organized by Soviet Russia, "derives its rights" from the Polish Constitution of 1921.

Unfortunately, however, that paragraph is part of a book, or rather the key to a book which is the first "of a number planned by the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, to deal with the postwar settlement and the political problems of Europe," with the well-known Director of the Division mentioned as first of the two authors.

Professor Shotwell, one of America's most prominent historians and an authority on international relations, was well qualified to study the Polish-Russian conflict from the point of view of an American internationalist. He decided, however, to work in cooperation with a former professor of St. Petersburg University, undoubtedly an expert on Russian affairs, while publications presenting the Polish standpoint, even those listed in the bibliography, received little, if any, attention. With reference to an important controversial point, the authors simply say: "The Polish point of view has been so frequently stated and is so well known that it is unnecessary to develop it here" (p. 54). And whenever a question arises which might be embarrassing for Russia, it is evaded by saying, for instance, that it "falls outside the scope of this study," or that "so little is known" about it (p. 57); some of these delicate problems are "still undisclosed" (p. 60), in other cases the truth "may never be wholly known" (p. 63).

The result of such a method is a one-sided apology of Russia's anti-Polish policy, a justification of the terrible wrong which is being done to Poland by trying to persuade the reader that the Poles themselves, their own mistakes and internal divisions are responsible for it. Such has been only too frequently the approach to the partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century, but it is for the first time that it is being applied to the present liquidation of Poland's independence.

The whole historical background, including those earlier partitions, is omitted or referred to only incidentally, with many inaccuracies, and the story starts with the Paris Peace Conference. Already in this first chapter, contrary to the excellent initial remark that "Poland is more than its frontier," the whole issue is reduced to the problem of the Curzon Line, that ill-fated and short-lived project which throughout the book is considered as something inviolable, more sacrosanct than the most formal treaties and international engagements of the following years. And all those who rightly admire the scholarly objective volumes published by the Carnegie Endowment, under Professor Shotwell's able editorship, on other problems of the Peace Conference, will be disappointed to find here a very superficial discussion, confusing the problem of Eastern Galicia, which never belonged to Russia, with provisional decisions concerning the terri-

Professor Oscar Halecki is one of Poland's most distinguished historians. From 1918 up to the German occupation he was Professor of Eastern European History in the University of Warsaw, where he also served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts. He also taught International Relations at the Warsaw School of Political Sciences, and was frequently invited to lecture in the leading universities of Europe and the United States, where he recently was Visiting Professor of History at Vassar College. He served as an expert of the Polish Delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference, was a member of the League of Nations Secretariat, and is at present Director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, and Professor at Fordham University.

tories of the former Russian Empire.

It was a good idea to precede the chapter specifically devoted to recent "Soviet-Polish Relations" by four others which are supposed to present the standpoints of the interested parties, and to include among them also the Ukraine and White Russia. But the short chapters which deal with these two countries seem to have the sole purpose of proving that both the Ukrainians and the White Russians of Eastern Poland were "longing toward the Soviet East" and of minimizing at the same time the movement directed toward an independent Ukraine, while a war-proclamation published in *Izvestia* is quoted as conclusive evidence of the enthusiasm of the White Russians for the Soviet fatherland.

The chapter on Poland contains obvious factual errors. Thus, it mentions "the proclamation of a free Poland by Imperial Russia on December 25, 1916" (there was only a vague reference to such a war aim in the Emperor's order of the day to the army); the Conference of Ambassadors representing also the United States (in 1923!); three million Germans living in Poland (almost four times the real number!), and so forth. All comments on the "behavior" of the Polish Government-in-Exile, not without references to "reactionaries," "clericals," and "great landowners" (which ones?) among its members, and on the underlying causes of rightist and leftist opposition, are rather confused, while the attitude toward Americans of Polish descent is particularly unfair. A mistaken impression is created that some of these American citizens were members of Polish political parties, and were later "expelled" from these parties (p. 27), and while the activities of Professor Oscar Lange during his American interlude, including his trip to Moscow, are recorded at length and with obvious sympathy, the American-born Mr. Charles Rozmarek who, as an authorized spokesman for six million fellow-citizens submitted their opinions on basic problems of foreign policy to the President of the United States, is attacked in a most unbecoming fashion (p. 73-74).

Almost half of the chapter on the Soviet Union is taken up by long quotations from an article in *The War and the Working Class*. To call that article "a wartime document and by no means an objective statement of history" (p. 53) is certainly an understatement. Reading these vicious attacks and distortions of facts, only one of which is corrected in the book, a discriminating student can only come to the conclusion, that this "most complete statement of the official Soviet approach to Poland" indicates the deep-rooted hostility of the Russian Government toward its smaller neighbor;

(Please turn to page 14)

* *Poland and Russia 1919-1945*, by James T. Shotwell and Max M. Laserson. Published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace by King's Crown Press, New York, 1945. Pp. VIII, 114. \$2.25.

THE BRILLIANT ART OF TADE STYKA

by JANINA KULIKOWSKA-HIGERSBERGER



Tade Styka

FATE has always smiled kindly upon Tade Styka. Born at Kielce, Poland, into a family of artists—his father was the internationally known painter Jan Styka who illustrated *Quo Vadis*—he grew up in an atmosphere of comfort, culture and acclaim. For it soon became evident that the precocious Tade was an extraordinarily gifted painter. He discovered his vocation early and by accident. As was the case in re-

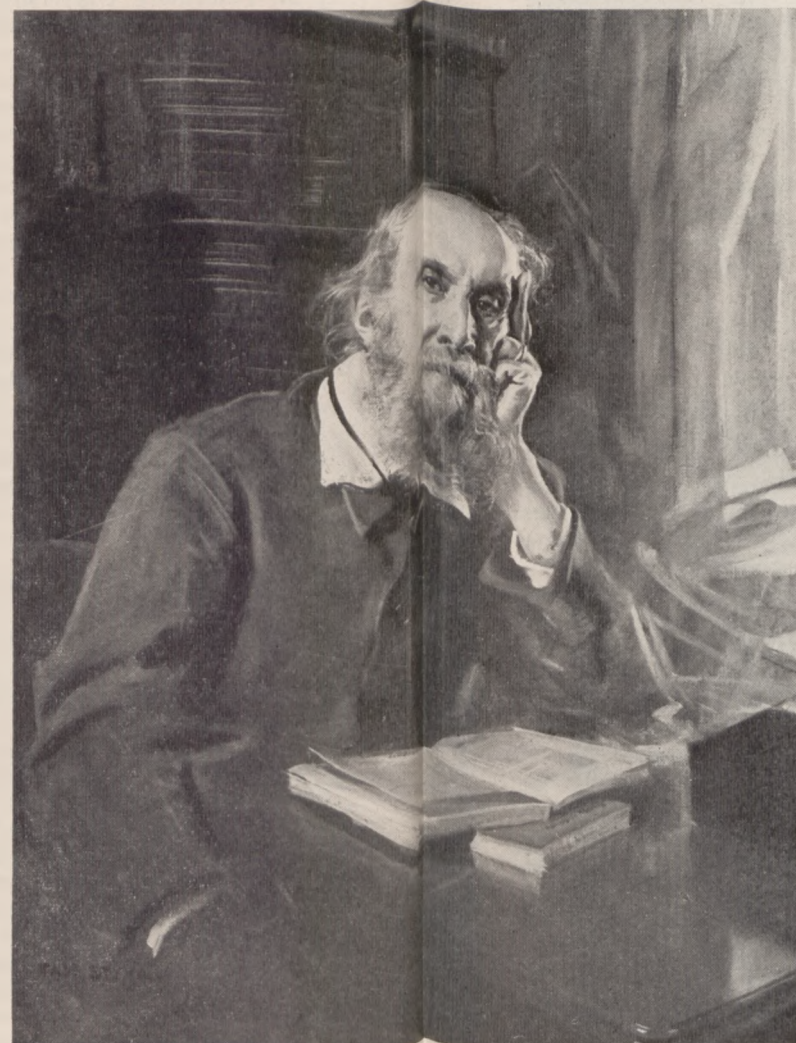
first one-man show in this country was held at Knoedler's in 1921. Wildenstein and others exhibited his work in subsequent years.

Tade Styka's subjects have included royalty (Styka was invited to the Royal Palace in Turin, Italy, to paint Princess Marie José and Crown Prince Umberto), luminaries of the stage and screen (Pola Negri, Marion Davies, Corinne Griffith, Vera Zorina, Gladys Cooper and others), and personalities in the political and social world. He works with uncanny speed. As one critic wrote, "He divines with accuracy and sympathy the personality of the sitters. He recognizes you at a glance, and works with astonishing celerity to transfer his impressions to canvas. Immediately he has his background, he begins to paint so that in half an hour the subject can be recognized. He takes no measurements and seldom requires his subjects to sit for more than four or five hours all told." Still, in these brief sittings, Styka engages his subjects in conversation and the result is a fund of anecdotes that will some day make fascinating memoirs.

He remembers how when



Three Singers (Ruffo, Caruso, Chaliapin) by Tade Styka.



Professor Tadeusz Zieliński by Tade Styka.

he was painting the priceless *Three Singers* (Caruso, Ruffo and Chaliapin) in the season when these three performed together in Paris on the eve of the first world war, Caruso sang *Pagliacci* for the young Pole when the latter mentioned that it was the only opera he had never heard him sing.

While sitting for her portrait, Sarah Delano Roosevelt liked to repeat, "I love my portrait so much because it's so ladylike. It will make the President so happy." It later hung in the President's study, just above his desk.

Senator William A. Clark thought so highly of Styka that he commissioned him to paint eleven portraits. One of them may now be viewed at the Cochran Museum in Washington, D. C.

One of Styka's most interesting subjects was Paderewski, who came for three two-hour sittings. An esthete, he paid careful attention to his dress and grooming. He was an animated sitter, quick to respond to an idea or remark, and at times quite excitable.

Interestingly enough, Colonel Edward M. House, President Wilson's trusted adviser and great friend of



General Wladyslaw Sikorski by Tade Styka.

Poland, who was painted by Styka, and who the artist feels was a philosopher and a deep intellect, once volunteered the statement that in his opinion the three greatest men of all time were Alexander the Great, Leonardo da Vinci and Paderewski.

In the period of the first World War, Styka painted a number of French notables, among them Marshal Foch and General Weygand. Weygand had just returned to France from Poland whither he had gone as head of a French mission to help the Poles in their battle against Soviet Russia's attack in 1920. His plan of defense had been to give up Warsaw to the Russians temporarily. But, he admitted, the Poles considered this sacrilegious. Polish plans prevailed and the Poles won the war. In the course of their conversation Weygand spoke highly of a young Polish officer whom he regarded as a great strategist. To remember the name he had never heard before Styka wrote it with his brush on his mantelpiece. The name was Sikorski.

Six months before General Wladyslaw Sikorski's tragic death in an airplane crash off Gibraltar in July 1943, Styka painted the portrait of the Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. Sikorski asked that only one of his numerous decorations be portrayed—the Virtuti Militari Cross.

Styka is particularly famous as a painter of beautiful women. Thibault Sisson wrote about him: "His palette possesses a moderation uncommon among the society painters, who, anxious (Please turn to page 10)



Doris and Wanda by Tade Styka.



Wanda. Sculpture by Tade Styka.

THE BRILLIANT ART OF TADE STYKA

(Continued from page 9)

to attract attention to their work, willingly imagine that brightness and vividness of tones are strictly necessary to the interpretation of a feminine personality."

And Eleanor Jewett, writing for the *Chicago Tribune* had this to say: "Such a marvelous technique, such craftsmanship, such romance of color and subtlety of composition, such admirable handling of flesh tones, such beautiful painting of hair and eyes and hands—but words are clumsy tools—if there is genius in this world today, Tade Styka is possessed of it."

But the *New York Times* perhaps best caught the flavor of Styka's painting when it said: "Viewing these portraits—many of them being portraits of distinguished persons—is a little akin to treading very thin and brittle ice; the sort that congeals the surface of water without providing safety for skaters. It snaps and tinkles, catching the glitter of strong artificial illumination."

"There is also a crackle of light artillery. And the air quivers with the high treble song of violins. Virtuosity of an unusual sort whips the forms into postures that snap and scintillate smartly. Conventional these pictures nowise are. Likeness is never slighted, yet nearly always the artist dramatizes his subject, removing it far indeed from the mold to which portrait painters have accustomed us. The canvases shriek with vitality. They are nervous, keen, theatrical, and have a certain distinction that is at once temperamental and technical."



Prince Adam Czartoryski of Goluchow by Tade Styka.



Mrs. Cornelius Dresselhuys by Tade Styka.

Tade Styka feels at home in the United States, in France or in Italy, but wherever he may be, there is a warm spot in his heart for the land of his birth and heritage—Poland. His beautifully appointed studio overlooking Central Park, which would turn a museum collector green with envy, boasts numerous Polish items reflecting Poland's tradition, splendid culture and brilliant history. There is a fine collection of rare Polish gold coins and medals, a priceless scepter of 17th century King Jan Kazimierz, there are Polish sashes and brocades, Polish helmets, a medieval wood carving by Wit Stwosz, an 18th century Polish sleigh, a mask by Benda. Even Styka's two-year-old daughter, who has inspired him to turn to sculpture, bears a name dear to Poles—Wanda. This child and his charming American wife have made his New York residence a true home for Styka.

The fact that Styka is Polish gives his works a national imprint. This is especially true of many of his male portraits—they reflect the dignity and the grand manner which are so typical of portraits in the ancestral galleries of Poland's noble families. This very same Polish lordliness which at one time attracted Rembrandt, is modernized and made democratic by Styka, but forms the basis for his portrayals.

Styka's paintings of women are more international in treatment, but all have one trait in common: the essence of femininity. The artist knows how to lift a woman above her somewhat artificial salon environment and record on canvas all her natural charm and allure. Styka's expert eye detects what makes her different from other women and at the same time sees in her the eternal feminine.

Today Tade Styka is at the peak of his artistic development and apparently he intends to remain there. It looks as if he bids fair to establish an enviable record in the number of fine portraits painted by a single artist in the course of a brilliant career.

NEW GENERATION OF POLISH TECHNICIANS RECEIVES TRAINING IN EGYPT

by WIKTOR OSTROWSKI

THE ancient city of Heliopolis in Egypt is the site of a Polish Technical Lyceum founded as an experiment to train aeronautic technicians. It is a school with a three-year course of study modelled after English institutions and is under the command and supervision of the RAF.

In reality the Lyceum consists of two schools: the Technical Lyceum and the Academic Lyceum. Provision is made for those boys who have not as yet completed their high school academic education, to catch up with their studies. But technical instruction and shopwork are the same for all.

Examinations in technical subjects are in the English language. The boys have already taken their first "mid-diploma" exams and are now "Flight mechanics." After passing their finals they will receive the title of "Flighter" and a well-paid job in the RAF.

The boys are sure of themselves, which is as it should be. Here is a typical example of their self-confidence. The English commission is testing and asks questions relating to specific practical problems:

"You checked the engines. Everything is in order. You start the motors—they stall. What do you do next?"

"I check again. Accurately. One after the other."

"All right. But you did check again and everything is O. K. and the motors still don't function. What then?"

"If I checked twice, if I checked accurately and found everything to be O. K., and the motors still stall—I report a case of sabotage!"

Theoretically the engines remained stalled but the examiners were clearly so impressed by such self-reliance that they entered "excellent" in the student's record.

When the boys finish their course of study, they will be specialists in one of three branches of ground

crew work: wing maintenance, engine maintenance or deck instruments. Added to this is the program of the Polish mathematico-scientific lyceum. The pupils have work aplenty. For an entire year they receive eight hours of classroom instruction and shopwork daily plus two hours of homework. Even the six-week period of summer camp activity on the shore of the Mediterranean includes daily English lessons and lectures on general subjects. Some idea of the variety of these lectures may be gotten from the following



Polish boys receive thorough physical training in the Near East.



General Wladyslaw Anders, Commander of the Polish Second Corps, with students of the Polish Technical Lyceum in Heliopolis, Egypt.

random selection of titles: "The role and factors influencing the formation of public opinion in the democratic states," "Elements of political economy," "The psychology of the Polish peasant," "Shirts made out of wood—suits made out of milk," "Life of Chopin," "Rebirth of the Nation through its young people," "The Law and the Constitution," etc.

The Lyceum's three-year course will be over in April 1946. Some 150 Polish aeronautic technicians will receive their well-earned diplomas and enter the ranks of trained specialists. A number of the students, however, have shown such aptitude and intelligence that they would indubitably make good engineers. It is to be hoped that in the light of Poland's heavy losses in engineers during six years of war and persecution, every effort will be made to give these young men the opportunity they so richly deserve.

In addition to the Lyceum in Egypt, the Carpathian Brigade also runs gymnasia and lyceums for its soldiers in Italy at Bagno di Romagna, Terra del Sole, Amandola and Sarnano.

THE FOREST COMMUNITY

by ADAM MICKIEWICZ

THOSE woods of Lithuania—who has dared explore
Their depths abysmal, penetrate their midmost core?
A Fisher on the beach shall scarcely sound the sea!
The hunter can but skirt our forest-bed—and he
Beholds its outward form and feature, these alone;
To him its inner heart and secret are unknown.
Only report and fable tell what there is found;
For once you pass the woods and tangled hunting-ground,
A bulwark meets you next of root, and stump, and knag,
Defended by a thousand streams, by shivering quag,
By growths of netted weed, by anthills mounting high,
Where balls of snakeskin, nests of wasp and hornet lie.
Should valour more than man's such barriers win through,
Beyond, shall mightier perils yet encounter you.
Beyond, and like a wolf-pit, every step you take,
With grass half overgrown, lurks many a little lake
So deep, no living man shall ever fathom it
(And it is like enough, down there, that devils sit).
Those irised springs are flecked with rust like blood; beneath,
Foul odours, steaming up, continually breathe;
Whence, all around, of leaf and bark the trees are scoured,
Are sickly-grown, and bald, and dwarfed, by worms devoured.
And there the boughs, elf-locked with matted mosses, droop;
With loathsome fungus-beards the stems are hunched, and stoop.
Those trees about the pool like packs of witches squat,
Who take the warmth, and seethe a dead man in their pot.

And past that land of lakes not even can the eye
Pierce, and far less the foot advance; in vain you try,
For all things deep enwrapt in cloudy vapour lie
Which rises from a swamp, forever shivering there.
At last, behind that mist, so common tales declare,
A lovely and a fruitful land extends; and this,
For all the beasts and plants, is their metropolis;
And here are stored the seeds of all the herbs and trees,
Whereby, through all the world, are spread their families.
Even as in Noah's ark, one pair is left at least
To generate his kind, of every bird and beast.
And here the forest monarchs hold their central court,
Bear, Bison, antique Buffalo—so runs report.
Embosomed in the trees, the ravening Wolverine
And lightfoot Lynx, like servants on the watch, are seen;
While deeper in, like vassal subalterns highborn,
Are lodged the Boar, the Wolf, the Elk with spreading horn;
and Falcons, overhead, and savage Eagles live,
Court sycophants, on what their masters' tables give.
These patriarchal chiefs in couples here abide
Unseen of men, and in the woodland's core they hide,
And send their settler-sons beyond the forest-bound,
And taste, in this their capital, repose profound.
And not by edge of blade, or bullet, do they fall;
They die when they are old; their deaths are natural.



Deep in the Forest. Drawing by Leon Wyczolkowski.

They have their graveyard too; when death comes near, therein
Birds lay their feathers down, and brutes their furry skin.
—The bear with teeth too blunt to chew, who cannot eat;
The stag with age outworn, who scarce can move his feet;
The veteran hare, whose bloodless veins run dry and thick;
The hawk with clouding eye, the raven graying quick;
The eagle, when his ancient beak, now arched and bent
And closed for good, denies his gullet nourishment;
—All seek that graveyard; nay, the smallest beast will fly
Back to his homeland, sick or wounded, there to die;
And never a bone of one dead animal you find
In any haunt that yields approach to humankind.

Among those beasts in this their capital, men say,
Self-rule prevails; and virtuous customs they obey.
They are not civilised, like man;—untainted still,
Those rights of ownership, that with dissension fill
Our world, they know not; strange to them are duels, arts of war;
These grandsons dwell in Eden, like their sires before;
The tame, the wild, in love and concord all unite;
None turns against his fellow here, to gore or bite;
And even though, all unarmed, a man should here intrude
Amidst those creatures he could pass in quietude,
And they would turn upon him such astounded eyes
As their first fathers, still ensconced in paradise,
On that sixth day, when now creation's work was done,
On Adam turned—their feud with him had not begun!
'Tis well that no man into that domain can stray,
For there stand Toil, and Fear, and Death, to bar his way.

Only the hounds, sometimes, will blunder in, and race
Through mosses, swamps, and gullies, maddened with the chase;
And, seeing the dreadful things they harbour, soon will fly,
Dash whimpering away, with wild distracted eye;
The master's hand may smoothe them—yet, for many an hour
Possessed by terror, at his feet they quake and cower.
And *jungle* is the name the huntsmen keep for these
Chief cities of the wood, far hid, which no man sees.

Passages from "Pan Tadeusz," Translated by Oliver Elton.



Old Oak. Drawing by Leon Wyczolkowski.

How Poles Cooperated with Allied Military Intelligence

Sergeant Rossiliano tells his story to Halina Chybowska

FROM dancer on Broadway to chief interrogator of prisoners of war on the European front—this was the metamorphosis of Sergeant Zygmunt Rossiliano for the duration. Now that the duration is over as far as Sergeant Rossiliano is concerned—he leaves the U. S. Army with three major battle stars and a star for presence of mind and assuming command in a situation of danger at Compiègne—he is planning a return to the dance stages of America in partnership with his wife Ludmila.

Rossiliano is a native of Warsaw and a graduate of the Ballet School of the Warsaw Opera. After further studies in Warsaw and in Paris, he organized his own quartet, winning first prize at the International Dance Competition in Vienna in 1934. This led to engagements all over the world, including the Far East, where the Rossilianos introduced Polish dances to Chinese and Japanese audiences. In Manila they met Gen. Douglas MacArthur who was so pleased with their performance at the Manila Hotel that in 1936 he helped arrange a Hollywood contract for the pair. And so it was that the Rossilianos came to the United States, as it turned out—to stay.

In July 1943 Rossiliano was called into the service. His command of five languages got him into the U. S. School of Military Intelligence. After completing special training at Oxford in the interrogation of prisoners of war, Rossiliano was assigned to the Field Intelligence Detachment, a branch of the Military Intelligence Service, where his task was to obtain detailed intelligence from prisoners of war after they had been screened at the front.

"When we landed in Normandy," he relates, "and took over the prisoner of war cages, we were surprised to see a great number of Poles who had been forced to serve in the German Army. These Poles generally came over to our side voluntarily. It is known for a fact that many of them died at the hands of the Germans because they tried to come over to the American side."

In one case, for example, seven Poles were stationed in a German pillbox in Normandy. American planes flew low over German positions summoning the Poles to desert to the Allies. When the Americans later advanced against this pillbox, the commanding officer, a German sergeant, ordered the Poles to shoot at the attacking troops, enforcing his command with a machine gun trained upon the Poles. Nevertheless, the Poles disobeyed the command. The sergeant fired, killing one man. A second later, however, the German too was dead, hit by a Polish soldier's bullet. The remaining Poles joyously emerged from the pillbox to greet the Americans.

Instead of coming empty-handed, many Poles brought valuable information to the Allied authorities. They furnished information of a tactical and strategic nature as well as important data about food storage points, ammunition dumps, and troop movements. Once it was established that the prisoner of war was really a Pole, he was sent to the Polish Liaison Officer with the U. S. Army, and then on to England, where he received additional training with the Polish Armed Forces and was returned to the front, this time on the side of the Allies.

There are numerous instances of how Polish prisoners of war gave priceless assistance to the Allies.

Rossiliano recalls how two months after the invasion, several Poles who had helped build a Pas de Calais V-1 robot-launching platform, surrendered to the Americans at the very first opportunity. One of them, a former student at the Warsaw Polytechnic, picked up a pencil and made a detailed diagram of the site. He then indicated the exact spot on the map where the launching platform could be found, pointing out thickets, hedges, etc., in the vicinity. The bomb storage sheds were more than a mile to the rear of the concrete platform. The entire site, including platform, runway and sheds was forthwith bombed out of existence.

The Poles made a determined effort in advance to gather information which might later prove useful to the Allies. They memorized parts of German signal corps codes, remembered names of colonels and scraps of overheard conversations, which were subsequently pieced together and provided significant military clues.

When the Russians launched their mighty counter-offensive, German divisions, badly battered and containing many Poles, were dispatched to Denmark, to be sent to the

Western front 24 hours later. Upon their surrender to the Allies, the Poles indicated where the enemy had concentrated his transports and troops. They were able to furnish these facts because they had deliberately memorized the names of all stations en route where they had noticed suspicious activity.

During the German retreat in France, Rossiliano continues, some troops were withdrawn by trains, while others traveled in trucks under cover of darkness along deserted side roads. Invariably, the Poles told the Allies which of these many country roads were used by the Germans.

Some 500 Poles who had worked in the great Heinkel factories built in wooded areas at Bydgoszcz and Torun in Poland, furnished information as to where the camouflaged airplane plants were located. Allied reconnaissance photographs of this region had been taken for six months in a vain attempt to discover the factories. Not until the Poles pointed out the exact location of the plants by describing identifying landmarks in that neighborhood, could they be wrecked from the air.

Polish aid to the Allies was not limited to the giving of priceless information. Within several hours of the Allied invasion of France, Poles who had been in hiding since 1940 as well as those who arrived in France after the collapse of that country and could no longer join the Polish Army, hastened to offer their help. Men and women, regardless of age, were eager to make themselves useful. There was one fellow, still spry despite his 78 years, who spoke seven languages fluently and insisted there must be something he could do. He was finally sent to the Polish Forces to act as an interpreter.

All in all, Sergeant Rossiliano is convinced that the Poles, who had formed an unwilling part of the German Army in France (20 per cent of it, to be exact) were an invaluable acquisition.

"Their information helped us out of many a tight spot," he says, "and after a brief period of training in England, they were second to none in excellence as fighting material."



Sergeant Rossiliano and his wife Ludmila plan a new post-war dancing tour.

RELIGION FREE IN PRE-WAR POLAND*

Statements of Foreign Minister Held Contrary to Facts

To the Editor of *The New York Times*:

As a Protestant minister who lived and worked in Poland from 1924 to 1941, I was struck by the statements of Wincenty Rzymowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the present Warsaw Government, in an interview printed in your paper Oct. 25. To quote: "In 1939, he recalled there was no freedom of religion, for example, because all other faiths were 'stamped out' by the 'ruling Catholic Church.'"

I, a member of one of these "stamped-out" religious minorities, hereby register my emphatic protest. Poland was only 75 per cent Roman Catholic. Other Christian denominations and other faiths were not only guaranteed by the Polish Constitutions of 1921 and 1935 freedom of conscience and practice but actually enjoyed it. The fact that I, an American Methodist preacher, was able for so many years to live and propagate my religious beliefs in Poland sufficiently proves the falseness of Mr. Rzymowski's statement.

Mr. Rzymowski also states "that free education, abolition of class distinctions and the improvement of the general standard of living were on his Government's program." He implies by this that Poland before 1939 had no free education.

As one who taught for a time in a Polish school I am well acquainted with her pre-war educational system. During twenty years of independence she established 28,722 free elementary schools for children between the ages of 7 and 14. In the year 1937-38, 4,851,000 children of all classes attended these public schools. In the same year there were 722 public, secondary (high) schools with 221,200 pupils and 717 trade schools with 1,216 departments for special branches of industry. In the five State universities and two colleges of engineering the students paid only nominal fees for registration and examinations.

(The Rev.) GAITHER P. WARFIELD,

Frederick, Md., Oct. 25, 1945.

* From *The New York Times*, October 30, 1945.



Members of the Polish American Congress picketed the building of the Polish Consulate in New York City for three hours on October 26, 1945 in protest against statements made in an interview with the press about present conditions in Poland, by Wincenty Rzymowski, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Warsaw Government. In explanation of the picketing, the Downstate New York Division of the Polish American Congress issued the following statement: "Mr. Rzymowski's glowing picture of Poland's prospects under the puppet Warsaw regime does not agree with the facts that have been reported to us by such unbiased American correspondents as Mr. Gladwin Hill of the *New York Times*. Mr. Rzymowski, in his interview with the press does not even try to answer the more serious charges against the regime he speaks for, such as the killings and imprisonments of its opponents, the looting and destruction by the Russian Army, the new assignment of Russian Army commanders in all districts of Poland, the denial of all civil liberties and democratic rights, and the 'reign of terror' of which Mr. Hill speaks. Mr. Rzymowski's previous career is not such as to inspire confidence in his words or his promises. During the Pilsudski regime he was an ardent defender of Pilsudski's policies—now he has found it expedient to sell his talents to the new Communist rulers of Poland, who call Pilsudski a Fascist. After earning a membership in the Polish Academy of Literature with his talents, he was expelled from it for plagiarizing from Bertrand Russell. It is this type of man that the Warsaw regime picks as its spokesman. Typical of his misstatements is the assertion that there was no religious freedom in Poland in 1939, because the Catholic Church persecuted other religions. The facts are that until the German invasion of Poland, all religious faiths, even the Mahommedan, enjoyed complete freedom of worship, but that under the present regime Catholic priests are being persecuted and deported. In the eyes of half a million Americans of Polish birth or descent in downstate New York, Mr. Rzymowski does not represent the people of Poland, but the policy of their Russian oppressors. This is conclusively demonstrated when he quotes a statement of Joseph Stalin to give, as he says, 'a true picture of the feelings of the Polish people.'"

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE PARTITION OF POLAND

(Continued from page 7)

surprisingly, however, the authors believe, on the contrary, that it indicates "the deep-rooted sense of the Polish Government's ever-present hostility to the Soviet" (p. 52). In the second part of the same chapter, Stalin's utterances about Poland's important role in Europe, conveyed to Professor Lange, are interpreted as a promising program of a new kind of pan-Slav movement, different from the old one, which "did not embrace the Poles because of their ancient hostility to imperial Russia" (p. 56). It is of minor importance that this last statement is highly questionable: the crux of the matter is that Poland wants to be free from any kind of pan-Slavic embraces.

The reader who wishes to study the whole development of Soviet-Polish relations since 1941, must start on pp. 54-55, then return to pp. 31-37, and continue on p. 60; but the last part, which in a special chapter describes these relations in

the summer and fall of 1944, is indeed the most important. Particularly shocking is the reference to "humanitarian" exchanges of populations, as well as the purely casual remarks about the "rounding up" and the "voluntary evacuation" of "trainloads of Poles" (p. 68), and particularly questionable is the report on the Moscow negotiations, where again the whole discussion is reduced to the Curzon Line problem, while what was really at stake was Poland's independence. The artificially inserted paragraph on agrarian reform in Poland is full of errors, but it will suffice to point out that in this connection the authors, speaking in the name of all those "familiar with the history of the Polish revolutionary movement," call the uprisings against Czarism "nationalistic mutinies (this is a translation of the derogatory term used by the Czarist regime) led by aristocrats and some urban elements not primarily interested in the improvement

(Please turn to page 16)

CAN RUSSIA BE HER OWN JUDGE?

(Continued from page 2)

war—March, 1939-September, 1939,” states among others as follows:

“It was recognized that Poland would fight if attacked and that a repetition of the Nazi success against Czechoslovakia without war could not be expected. Accordingly, it was determined that the problem was to isolate Poland and, if possible, prevent a simultaneous conflict with the Western Powers.”

Nothing whatsoever is said about the Eastern Powers. However, action to “isolate Poland” from her eastern neighbor was taken by signing a non-aggression pact and possibly a secret agreement for a new partition of Poland.

Soviet Russia voluntarily took part in discussions aimed at the signing of these pacts, disregarding her non-aggression treaty with Poland as well as other international agreements which forbade her to even contemplate seizure of territory belonging to the other contracting party.

Joachim Ribbentrop is held responsible for machinations and preparations for war—and should be tried and pronounced guilty.

Nevertheless, he could not—and did not—act alone. As we all know, there inevitably are at least two parties to a contract of any kind. Ribbentrop too had another party to these acts and treaties which gave Germany almost unlimited freedom of action and also safeguarded her against a possible second front.

It is with this in mind that the question arises—should a party who had joined the aggressor in agreements which if not concluded might have prevented war; a party who later fully benefited from such agreements, incorporating vast territories into her state; should such a party not be considered an accomplice against peace and humanity?

Art. 6. of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal qualifies crimes against peace as “Namely, planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or war in violation of international treaties, agreements, or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing . . .” and further provides that: “Leaders, organizers, instigators and accomplices participating in the formulation or execution of a common plan or conspiracy to commit any of the foregoing crimes are responsible for all acts performed by any persons in execution of such plan.”

In the light of the above listed facts and citations it would seem that the answer to this question is clear and beyond doubt in the field of normal criminology. In this particular case, however, the accomplice not only avoids prosecution by the International Military Tribunal of the United Nations, but even is a recognized member of the Tribunal acting both as prosecutor and judge.

This procedure is entirely revolutionary, it negates the very principles of morality and justice. Let us face the truth—

has an accomplice ever been seated with the jury in a trial for murder?

That Major War Criminals should be tried and found guilty is irrefutable. That Soviet Russia has greatly contributed to the winning of World War II is likewise obvious. Her share in the common effort has been and is a highly appreciated one. But on the other hand, Russia cannot be permitted to act as judge in trials dealing with the responsibility for starting this war.

It is not the intention of the writer to assume that justice might miscarry under such circumstances. Millions of people throughout the world who have fought and suffered have declared their verdict on Nazi criminals—and there is nothing that can change it.

Nevertheless, the situation as described above places the accomplice in a very unusual position—he is given the opportunity of wiping out all and any traces of responsibility for crimes described in the Indictment.

For example, let us take the case of the Polish officers murdered in Katyn. Germany has charged that about 10,000 Polish officers, prisoners of war, were killed by the Russians. When the Polish Government requested that the matter be investigated by the International Red Cross, the Soviet authorities expressed their displeasure by breaking all diplomatic relations with the Polish Government in London, and later declared the crime had been committed by the Germans. Just before the Indictment was signed, the Soviet representatives requested that this be included in the charges against Nazi Germans. They will now participate in a trial which might equally well regard them as the defendant, suspected, or accused; they will also produce witnesses and other proof. There will be a Soviet representative seated as one of the four judges of the Military Tribunal.

At a time when the world is striving for peace and unity, it is of the utmost importance that morality, justice and decency be applied in each and every undertaking of the United Nations. It is obvious that any situation which might result in future accusations should be avoided. And it is for this reason that it would be better if Soviet Russia could see her way clear to abandoning the idea of participating in any such proceedings and deliberations of the International Military Tribunal as might involve her directly or indirectly as one responsible or accused. Such an act would undoubtedly be much to her credit, and of enormous relief to those who think along the accepted lines of justice and decency. It would do much toward establishing more confidence among nations, and it might be that future unity and cooperation would take their roots from such confidence.

Russia with her widely recognized fighting record can well afford such an exception—she cannot afford to be her own judge.

WHERE ARE THE REST OF THE GUILTY ONES?

(Continued from Page 3)

Nor must we forget the block sadists who killed many of the weak and ill. I can't mention all of them here but I shudder at the very thought of these creatures. I can still see them distributing blows right and left, systematically stealing our meager food rations day after day.

And the constant searches. What a triumph for one of these depraved women to find a rag, a change of shirt, a medal from home, or a cross hidden in the sawdust mattress.

She would throw the find to the ground, trample it and rain blows on the culprit. And then the punishment: kneeling for hours out-of-doors, upraised hands holding a heavy

stone, shoulder blades aching, and an overpowering desire to howl. Mud, pouring rain, miserable rags soaked through. It's already 11 at night and one still must kneel. At 3 in the morning, one is awakened by the frightening hoarse voice of the Ukrainian night-guard Sasha: “Aufstehen.”

Tens of thousands of orphaned Polish, Belgian, French, Russian, Dutch, Czech, Hungarian, and other children—Aryan children and Jewish children, whose parents were burnt alive in German crematories, and we, prisoners of the camps of Oswiecim and Belsen-Bergen, appeal to those in whose hands the meting out of justice rests today:

Look for the rest of the guilty ones!

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE PARTITION OF POLAND

(Continued from page 14)

of the poverty-stricken Polish peasantry" (p. 64).

The chapter on the Yalta Conference is an apology of the Crimean decisions regarding Poland. The authors first try to present them as "based upon an American proposal," and having quoted them with the omission of a few inconvenient words, they pretend that American public opinion applauded the method employed and was "especially happy," because of Russia's "generous and far-sighted" concessions (p. 84). A little later they are constrained to admit that "a mistake" was made, since the most important provisions "were not made sufficiently clear in the document," but they do not seem to mind that the Polish people had and still have to pay for that mistake: they are quite satisfied with the Russian decision as to who from among the Polish democratic leaders "should be allowed to go to Moscow."

Describing in the last chapter that "democratic" process of forming a "new Polish Government," they mention only incidentally the arrest and trial of sixteen of these leaders, unhesitatingly accepting in a foot-note (p. 94) Stalin's own

explanation of that tragedy. Here and throughout the whole book there is, unfortunately, a strange escape from reality and a complete lack of human sympathy with Poland's sufferings and disappointments. The climax is reached, however, in the conclusions. It is emphasized that "Russia has had and will continue to have a strong interest in the way Poland solves her problems." Moreover, it is recognized that "this interest will be equally showed by Germany in years to come." The authors are much less worried about the interest of the Poles themselves who only receive a stern warning that they must guarantee "individual freedom" as well as "economic and social betterment for all people."

In view of Poland's complete control, terrorization and exploitation by Soviet Russia and Russian puppets, that sounds like bitter irony, and so does the hope that after elections, about the freedom of which not a single word is said, Poland will have a Government "healthily conscious of Polish history and tradition."

The book certainly does not help the Poles to arrive at such a happy ending.



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